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TABLE 3

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OCCUPATIONS

| OCCUPATION | NUMBER | PERCENT |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 1,129,870 | 76.71 |
| Industry and handicraft | 94,731 | 6.43 |
| Transportation and communication | 15,585 | 1.06 |
| Commerce and credit | 37,268 | 2.53 |
| Civil service and professionals | 47,408 | 3.22 |
| Other occupations | 148,083 | 10.05 |

From the figures in these tables, it can be seen that Lithuania has comparatively small minorities and is predominantly an agricultural country, with more than 76 percent of the population engaged in farming. The percentage of minorities may have been increased somewhat by the changing conditions. The percentage of Jews, no doubt, has risen with the return of Vilnius, which has a large Jewish population. The total percentage of Poles and White Russians will also be somewhat higher than it was when these figures were compiled.

The figures of the German minority, of course, have been completely altered since 1939. After Klaipeda Territory was seized by Germany the percentage of Germans in Lithuania amounted to not more than one and one-half percent of the entire population. With the subsequent repatriation of all Germans from Lithuania in 1941, this minority has wholly disappeared.

• 565 Lithuania has no distinctive social classes. Peasants reestablished Lithuania in 1918, and the sons of peasants were running the state affairs until Soviet Russia's occupation on June 15, 1940.

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
965 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian
563 settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gedirinas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Von deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
•565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles. Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism--the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

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We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,† which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27

[113] 27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

† [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

342 changed the external appearance of the cities of
369 the country in a few years, especially since state
[565] and communes provided the outer frame for the new bourgeois houses by asphalting on a large scale and by creating green parks. One sees this most clearly in Kaunas. Apart from the actual center, the single dwelling predominates, although, with the relatively small amount of space available in the inner sectors, it was in many cases the row house which was called for. The growth of the city, which took place at an almost American tempo, the unusual housing shortage, and the independence of the builders led in the first years to an unorganic development. In this the artistic architecture found at first no place, since the first and most necessary goal was only to create four walls and a roof over the heads of the rapidly growing population of the city. Even the building with wood was hard hit by these necessities of life, for in most cases it was no longer the comfortable forms of the roomy farmhouse which were transferred to the city, but there arose sober, quadrangular, tin-roofed wooden houses consisting of a first and second story, unattractively set in bare courtyards--houses made for profit, where even the presence of a little garden or a few blossoming shrubs constituted an exception. Along with those styleless, boxlike buildings of wood or stone, however, very recently, after the most pressing necessities of life had been satisfied, various attempts have been made to solve the housing problem according to the artistic model of the West, primarily in smaller private houses and villas in the style of the country house. The development here is still fully in foux, so that a final judgment would be premature, especially since the building activity has not come to a standstill, in spite of the difficult economic situation and the great crisis which began in 1931.

/167/ In the sphere of public building, too,

538 and the spirit of romanticism. We find here a close relationship with all the efforts which originated in the newly founded University of Vilna. First of all, we want to give a brief survey of the social structure of the country and the extent which the unchecked, progressive Polonization of the upper class had reached at that time.

C. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition on Printing

1. The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism

565 The class structure of Lithuania around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be outlined in a few words. We find two large classes of society: a landowning nobility--as opposed to a peasantry of serfs--between the two there was a very thin layer of free urban burghers, who, however, played a role only in the capital. The small citizenry of the rest of the small cities--even Kaunas had only about 3,000 inhabitants around 1800--offered a racially varied picture and can /206/ in no way be compared as a cultural factor with the compact German or French bourgeoisie of that period.

[177] The Lithuanian nobility--aside from Samogitia, where free Lithuanian landownership had been maintained--was almost completely Polonized, as was the upper class in the cities. Whoever rose from the peasantry thereby stepped almost automatically out of his own nationality and was assimilated to the Polish culture.

565 177 Through the third Polish partitioning of 1795, along with the largest part of Russian Poland the area of the present Lithuanian state, with the exception of a section of Suvalkija, had also fallen to Russia. The common oppression to which Lithuanians and Poles were subjected under the same foreign rule had a more uniting than separating effect, especially since both peoples also belonged to the

565 177 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opposition in the relations between Lithuania and Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

814 /207/ In order to gain historical perspective for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

177 From the attitude of this poet* we clearly recognize that up to the middle of the last century there could be no talk of a political opposition between Lithuanians and Poles. Poland still regarded this country as its original property, its history as its own; and up to the present day something /211/ of the romantic way of looking at things at that period has remained in many Poles.

•565 *538 Certainly, as we shall later show, the abolition of serfdom first signaled the inner break with Polish culture. This had to occur at the moment when the possibility was given to the Lithuanian peasant of rising into that educated class which determines the cultural development of a people. Nevertheless--and this is the further significance of romanticism for Lithuania--there arose in that period, along with poets of the Polish language, those who, although of boyar lineage, spoke to the people in their own language. That the first writers of this trend came from the minor nobility of Samogitia, will be understandable from what was said at the beginning. In contrast to eastern Lithuania, where it was primarily the high nobility which possessed latifundia, in Samogitia the minor Lithuanian nobility was able to maintain itself. Here, as a result, the relations between nobility and peasantry were also closer, which again reflected back on the language. Thus Dionysius Poška (1757-1832), a Lithuanian boyar, was the first to write poems in the Samogitian dialect, based on historical events in the history of his people. Poška's life itself is highly characteristic of the romantic feeling of that period. He was a zealous collector of antiquities that had to do with the early history of Lithuania. At his order a gigantic oak in his park was felled, sawed up, hollowed out, and each section set up by itself. In these little houses, which he had fitted out with windows and doors, he placed his collections and also his workroom. The oak had at its base a cir-

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* [Mickiewicz -- Analyst]

538 Anykščiai, although the latter was written in the High Lithuanian dialect. In addition there were translations from foreign literatures, e.g. parts of Milton's Paradise Lost and other works.

/228/ D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904)

1. The Epoch of Aušra

565 178 At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century occurred two political events which had a basic effect on the further social, national, and thereby also literary development of Lithuania. In the year 1861 the end of serfdom in the government of Kowno was decreed by Alexander II. The peasants were freed of all villeinage and services and now sat as free men on free soil and land. The liberation of the peasants effected a far-reaching social differentiation: until now social rise from the class of serfs was possible only in individual cases, specifically where the landlord accidentally became aware of a special talent and was inclined to foster it. This rise itself, however, was limited at best to an education for the priesthood. The entrance into a higher class, which, as we have shown before, was almost completely under the influence of Polish culture and language, led in most cases to the result that the few who rose in this way from the peasantry became strangers to their own people and language and felt themselves as belonging to the class of Polish "lords." Only at the moment when the whole peasantry became free, when possibilities for advancement were created not only for individuals but for all the people, could a Lithuanian educated class be established. Again, only this class could become the bearer of the new Lithuanian idea as well as all the intellectual and artistic efforts connected with it which from now on could be developed on a broader base. Besides the former Polish educated class a Lithuanian class made its appearance.

The Polish uprising, which took place in the

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178 year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the following decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to
[195] their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Baltic Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

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Among the young Lithuanian intelligentsia there arose very quickly a differentiation between those who obtained a religious education and those who turned to the secular sciences. Both groups, however, found themselves together in the cultural battle which was now breaking out against
* the Russification plans of the Czarist government.
538 Then /230/ the latter took a step which had never
661 happened before in the history of peoples by proclaiming, on August 6, 1865, that six governments of western Russia were forbidden to print writings in Latin letters. If this decree, which was not repealed until April 24, 1904, was aimed above all at the Polish literature, it also had at first the effect of a death blow on the further development of the young Lithuanian literature. It soon became evident that it was impossible to use the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, and thus this prohibition was equivalent to a prohibition of all Lithuanian literature, including the religious, which tended to arouse special bitterness in this Roman-Catholic country. In order completely to paralyze the development of a Lithuanian educated class and therewith the awakening of an independent national consciousness, there followed a second prohibition according to which Lithuanians in their home provinces could not obtain any posts in the Russian government service. Thus the lay intelligentsia which was now arising, insofar as it turned to government service, was removed into the interior of Russia. A knowledge of these circumstances is a basic condition for the understanding of the further development of Lithuanian literature, for it is now clear why the further intellectual and literary development was carried forward from now on by forces that started their activities outside the political borders of the country. In addition it explains why, in this struggle for existence, whose center of gravity lay from now on on the

538 we see him as a young vicar in the company of other clergymen, who are all drawn with sharp strokes. There is the priest Platūnas, who lives only for his husbandry; Stripaitis, who is completely immersed in the Lithuanian cooperative movement; the idealist Ramutis; and many others. But Vasaris begins to feel ever more strongly that he lacks the calling for his profession. He fashions his life more freely, his thinking changes above all through his love for the wife of Baron Rainakis, the patron lord of his church. Then the World War overtakes him. He sets out for St. Petersburg to study at the Clerical Academy there. Once more he turns around in his wagon toward the village. He hears a thundering crash and sees the tower of his church fall, blown up by the Russians at the approach of the German troops.

It was like a blow that Vasaris felt in his breast. The tower to which the duties of the priesthood, care, and sorrow had bound him was in ruins. It seemed to him that not only the tower had fallen apart, but that with it fell apart many beautiful dreams and ideals of his youth, which had once led him to this place.

In the last part of the novel Vasaris returns to his homeland in the year 1924. Completely alienated from his profession, he lives for his artistic work.

/285/ According to the author's own confession, two problems made him write this novel--the relation of the priesthood to artistic work and the problem of the ex-priest who turns to a secular activity. It should be remembered in this connection that according to Russian law no Lithuanian could occupy an official position in his home province, which left only the few free professions, and the priesthood for advancement from the peasant class. Thus the majority of the creative intelligentsia of the country was found among the priests to the time of

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the first World War. As a consequence, even after the founding of the state the Lithuanian clergy played a decisive role in many high state offices. From this results the extraordinary significance of this class at that time and also the breadth of the artistic theme, measured by Lithuanian standards, which Putinas treats in his novel. Concerning the Lithuanian clergyman the author writes in his preface:

> "The Lithuanian clergyman was both farmer and member of a cooperative, financier, politician, diplomat, minister, physican, and--God knows what else. He agitated at public meetings--even today he takes part in the internal deliberations of the political parties. The Lithuanian clergyman was a literary man as well--sometimes a story teller, but more frequently a poet . . .The Lithuanian clergyman, very often forced into the seminary, sometimes also enrolled out of a misunderstanding, attracted by foreign ideals, gathered within himself the most varied gifts and talents . . . and again and again one or another gifted Lithuanian priest feels the necessity to give up the priesthood . . . Here lies a whole series of sociological, religious, and psychological problems."

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It is only understandable that the appearance of such a realistic and at the same time artistically fashioned work would lead to lively controversies (16) which /286/ concerned less the

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16. Cf. for example Grinius, "Putino Altoriu šešelyj" (Putinas, In the Shadow of the Altars), Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVII, pp. 46-53 (on the first two volumes). Further: K. Korsakas, Kritika (Criticism), the chapter "Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūr-